

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUJUMB 00490 051715Z
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FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUJUMBURA 0490

E.O.: 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, BY, YZ, AO
SUBJ: FONMIN MUGANGA'S RECENT TRIP TO KINSHASA AND LUNANDA
REF : BUJUMBURA 447 (NOTAL)

1. DURING MY CALL ON FONMIN MUGANGA MAY 3 TO DISCUSS ANOTHER MATTER, THE CONVERSATION SHIFTED TO HIS RECENT TRIP TO ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, DURING WHICH HE CARRIED LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT BOGAZA TO NETO AND MOBUTU. MURXAGA SAID THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR DIRECT CONTACT WITH ZAIRE OVER THE SHABA AFFAIR BOTH TO EXPLAIN BURUNDI'S POSITION WHICH HAD BEEN LESS VOCALLY PRO-ZAIRE THAN RWANDA'S (ALLEGEDLY BECAUSE BURUNDI HAD THOUGHT THAT OVERTLY TAKING SIDES WOULD NOT RPT NOT PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT IN SHABA), AND TO DEAL WITH "RUMORS" HEARD BY THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT THAT BURUNDI WAS HARBORING MULELIST SYMPATHIZERS AND EVEN ALLOWING THEM TO TRAIN IN BURUNDI FOR A LATER INCURSION INTO KIVU REGION. SINCE MUGANGA WAS TO GO ON THIS MISSION TO MOBUTU, IT HAD BEEN THOUGHT ADVISABLE FOR HIM TO VISIT LUANDA ALSO, IN AN EFFORT TO GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONFLICT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 00490 051715Z

2. MUGANGA CLAIMED THAT HIS MEETING WITH MOBUTU HAD BEEN VERY CORDIAL. THE FONMIN HAD OF COURSE TOLD MOBUTU THAT TALK OF BURUNDI'S AIDING MULELISTS WAS NONSENSE. NOT ONLY WAS BURUNDI AN ALLY OF ZAIRE, BUT, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, ANY ARMED TROUBLE ALONG ITS FRONTIERS WOULD THREATEN BURUNDI'S SECURITY TOO. BURUNDI WHOLLY SUPPORTED THE RIGHT OF ZAIRE AND EVERY NATION TO SEEK OUTSIDE HELP TO PRESERVE

ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND, INDEED, BURUNDI WAS FERVENTLY BEHIND THE OAU PRINCIPLE THAT FRONTIERS INHERITED FROM COLONIAL DAYS HAD TO BE PRESERVED, EVEN AT THE PRICE OF DIVIDING PEOPLE (SUCH AS THE LUNDA IN SHABA) OF THE SAME TRIBE. MUGANGA OBSERVED THAT MOBUTU WAS VERY CONFIDENT ABOUT THE OUTCOME IN SHABA, CLAIMED THAT ALL DANGER TO THE KOLWEZI MINING AREA WAS NOW ENDED BY CORDONS OF TROOPS IN STRONG DEFENSE LINES MANY MILES AWAY, ASSERTED THAT PLANS TO ENCIRCLE THE KATANGANS WERE NOW WELL UNDER WAY, AND DENOUNCED THE USSR AS THE INSTIGATOR OF THE WHOLE AFFAIRS.

3. IN NETO'S ABSENCE FROM LUANDA, FONMIN SAW PRIMIN NASCIMENTO WHO TOLD HIM THAT ANGOLA HAD HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE SHABA AFFAIR. PRIMIN SAID THAT AFTER THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR, EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE IN FRONTIER AREAS HAD ALQS, AND THERE WAS NO WAY OF CONTROLLING THEM GIVEN THE VAST DISTANCES INVOLVED. ANYWAY, THE REBELLION WAS BASICALLY AN INTERNAL SHABA AFFAIR SUPPORTED BY THE NATIVES OF THE AREA. NASCIMENTO WENT ON TO CLAIM THAT THERE WERE STILL FNLA RAIDS ON ANGOLA FROM BASES IN ZAIRE, AND HE ACCUSED MOBUTU OF VERY BAD FAITH.

4. I ASKED MUGANGA WHETHER HE HAD TRIED TO HELP GET THE DIALOGUE GOING BETWEEN KINSHASA AND LUANDA, AND HE SAID THAT IT SEEMED HOPELESS TO HIM. THE ANGOLANS SAID THAT THEY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH EVENTS IN SHABA AND WOULD NOT RPT NOT DISCUSS THEM. I COMMENTED THAT, ON THE OTHER HAND, ANGOLA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 00490 051715Z

WAS CLAIMING THAT GUERRILLAS FROM ZAIRE WERE RAIDING ANGOLA. COULD NOT A DIALOGUE BE STARTED TO DISCUSS THIS ASPECT, WHILE THE ZAIRIANS TALKED ABOUT THEIR CHARGES AGAINST ANGOLA? MUGANGA REJOINED THAT MOBUTU REFUSED TO TAKE UP ANGOLAN CHARGES OF FNLA RAIDS FROM ZAIRE BASES, BECAUSE MOBUTU INSISTED THAT HE HAD CLOSED DOWN ALL FNLA CAMPS IN ZAIRE AFTER HIS (MOBUTU'S) MEETING WITH NETO. THUS, AS THE NIGERIANS HAD ALSO FOUND OUT IN THEIR THUS FAR UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS, THERE WAS NO COMMON BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, AND THE TWO SIDES COULD NOT EVEN AGREE ON SETTING UP A FACT FINDING TEAM TO SORT OUT THE VARIOUS ACCUSATIONS.

5. I QUERIED MUGANGA ABOUT WHETHER HE HAD TALKED ALL THIS OVER WITH THE TANZANIANS DURING HIS VISIT THERE THREE WEEKS AGO, AND HE CONFIRMED SUCH A REVIEW. HE SAID THAT, BECAUSE OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, NYERERE WAS VERY WORRIED ABOUT THE SHABA AFFAIR, IN WHICH HE FELT BOTH ZAIRE AND ANGOLA BORE SOME FAULT. HE HAD LET EACH PARTY KNOW OF HIS AVAILABILITY TO HELP MEDIATE, BUT HE HAD RECEIVED NO

ENCOURAGEMENT. HIS PRESENT INCLINATION WAS TO KEEP OUT OF THE PROBLEM BECAUSE HE SAW NO CHANCE OF EARLY SETTLEMENT.

6. MUGANGA CONCLUDED THAT HE AGREED WITH NYERERE IN THIS PESSIMISTIC ASSESSMENT, THOUGH HE HOPED AGAINST HOPE THAT BRIGADIER GARBA WOULD FIND SOME FORMULA TO GET A DIALOGUE GOING BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. HE OBSERVED THAT ALTHOUGH THE USSR AND ANGOLA WERE COLLABORATING CLOSELY, THAT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT LUANDA WAS IN MOSCOW'S POCKET. INDEED, HE AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG THAT A COLD WAR PERSPECTIVE DID NOT RPT NOT MAKE SENSE WHEN APPLIED TO AFRICA. AFRICAN COUNTRIES, HOWEVER SEEMINGLY REJICAL, WERE UNLIKELY EVEN TO TURN INTO COPIES OF THE USSR. CHINA, OR OTHER COMMUNIST NATIONS, CERTAINLY BURUNDI WOULD NEVER FOLLOW SUCH A PATH. IT HAD ENOUGH TROUBLE FINDING PROMISING SOLUTIONS FOR ITS MANY GRIEVOUS PROBLEMS TO EVEN THINK OF SEEKING TO TAKE OVER SOME FOREIGN SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BUJUMB 00490 051715Z

7. COMMENT: IT SEEMS AMLIF THE PREIMARY MOTIVATION FOR MUGANGA'S TRIP WAS TO PLACATE THE ZAIRIANS WHO HAD BECOME VERY PEEVED AND SUSPICIOUS ABOUT BURUNDI'S SEEMING NEUTRALITY OVER SHABA. HOWEVER, TO MAINTAIN BURUNDI'S CREDENTIALS WITH ANGOLA, MUGANGA HAD ALSO HAD TO VISIT THERE AND TO CAST THE TRIP AS AN ATTEMPT TO FIND OUT FACTS AND OFFER "GOOD OFFICES". I WOULD GUESS THAT FROM BURUNDI'S VIEWPOINT, THE TRPY WAS A SUCCESS, SINCE BURUNDI HAS REAFFIRMED ITS GOOD WILL TOWARD ZAIRE AND HAS MADE SOME SEEMINGLY FAVORABLE PRESS COMMENTS ABOUTHWAIRE'S POSITION IN SHABA, WITHOUT, IN SO DOING, CUTTING ITSBOIES TO ANGOLA OR SULLYING ITS "PROGRESSIVE" CREDENTIALS.

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